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THE LITERARY INTERESTS OF CHICAGO. I

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I. THE PIONEER PERIODICALS

"We shall be slow to believe there is not talent enough in the West to maintain a character for a work of this kind."—From the *Western Magazine*, Chicago, October, 1845.

"Present indications seem to show that we did not overrate the literary taste of the West, when we believed the western people able and willing to support a magazine of their own."—From the *Western Magazine*, Chicago, November, 1845.

"‘The literary interests of Chicago’—they belong, do they not, in that important category where one discovers the historic ‘snakes of Ireland’?" This whimsical question, put to the collector of material for these papers by a distinguished New York publisher, suggests a long-standing estimate of Chicago character. This city, the second in America and the metropolis of the Middle West, has not been noted for traits of æsthetic interest. Ever since the days of its earliest prominence as a small market-town, and through the quick years of phenomenal growth into a great business center and world-mart, the name "Chicago" has been the one above every city name standing for materialism. As a rough characterization, this has been accurate enough. And yet, from common knowledge, everyone knows that there have been in this community some manifestations of the æsthetic interest, including the literary interest.

Just exactly what are the variations of the universal literary interest which arise in such a market-metropolis? That is the question which may well lead to a detailed search for more than the commonly known facts concerning this particular interest. The term "interests" is much in vogue among the leading professors of general sociology in America, as well as with the sociologists of Europe. Interests may be defined as the concrete,

working expressions of those constant forces generated by the daily desires of men, women, and children. The concept may well serve as the starting-mark for an endeavor to describe and explain the social process in whole or in part. It leads to the selection of some particular interest. The one thus picked out from the congeries of interests that go to make up the life of Chicago, as the subject for the reports here submitted, is a subdivision of the æsthetic interest. The main query as to the character of the literary interest in this commercial city unfolds into many subsidiary questions. And since the idea of interests connotes their interdependence in the social process as a whole, some of these questions are directed at tracing the relations of the literary interest to the other interests of Chicago; for example, to the business interests. Half are inquiries about literary production; the others, on the reading done by all classes of people to satisfy the desire for the artistic through literary form — literary consumption. In getting answers, the collection of facts for narrative reports on merely a few phases shows that in Chicago the literary interest has been greater in quantity, and more varied and interesting in quality, than is generally supposed, even among the local litterateurs.

Efforts to establish literary magazines and periodicals in Chicago were begun as far back as the early prairie days. These attempts were the earliest budding of the creative literary desire in this locality; and similar undertakings have been its most constant expression since then. All told, at least 306 magazines and journals, whose generic mark is an appeal chiefly to the æsthetic or artistic sense, have sprung up in Chicago; and there have been some fifteen distinct varieties. Of this large crop, twenty-seven, or 9 per cent. of the total, germinated, lived their lives, and died in the forties and fifties.

About these pioneer magazines and journals, as of those in each decadal period, one may ask many questions: What was the character of the typical literary periodicals? What were the social factors in their origin? How go the stories of their struggles for permanence? What were the interrelations between these publishing enterprises and other interests? Was the literary

interest always engrafted on a business interest? What were the causes for the brevity of duration and early death of these periodicals?

In reply, a half-dozen dusty files, to be found in the library of the Chicago Historical Society, will tell an interesting story. It is often said that Chicago is the graveyard of literary magazines. And it is true that in the vaults of the Historical Society library, the Public Library, the Newberry Library, and other institutions of Chicago, the remains of fifty-five such literary creations lie buried, the relics filed for all the periods. In gathering data on the magazines of the later periods, thirty-three men and women who were connected, as publishers, editors, or contributors, with forty-three Chicago literary periodicals, have been interviewed.

Only three living witnesses of periodical events in the pioneer times could be found; and two of these were merely newsboys in those days. General James Grant Wilson, of New York city, is the only surviving literary man who was among the editors directing campaigns for the periodic publication of literary efforts in the Chicago field before the Civil War. From his present literary headquarters, General Wilson sent on illuminating recollections of these undertakings. The histories of Chicago are more instructive concerning the literary development of the earlier periods than of the later, and they also furnish side-light on the economic and social conditions. However, they give no adequate literary history of Chicago. Even Rufus Blanchard, having himself, in 1858, undertaken the establishment of an ambitious quarterly, made no mention of literary magazines when he wrote a history of Chicago. It is, then, to the old files that we turn for the story of the pioneer periodicals.

Although the impulse to write and to publish is a phenomenon of the individual, the constant reflection of environment, both physical and spiritual, or social, has shone in the literary magazines and papers of Chicago and "the West." This was clear and simple in those of the forties, the days of the western prairie pioneers. In the magazines of today it is clear, but complex. The keynote to which the literary publications of the midland metropolis have been attuned is westernism. In the sweep of six

decades of local, national, and international development, the character of this western spirit has unfolded in various modifications. It has passed, with shading emphasis, through western sectionalism to national westernism and western nationalism, and has come, finally, to cosmopolitan westernism and western cosmopolitanism. We find this at once apparent by dipping into these published records by periods. Nothing is stamped so clear on the pages of all the literary magazines and journals of Chicago, however, as the picture of the prairies and the expression of the western *Zeitgeist* of this section filling those of the period prior to our nation's Civil War—those of the forties and fifties.

The titles proclaim this fact. The first weekly of predominantly literary character was named, in response to the stimulus of environment, the *Gem of the Prairie*. This paper retained its prairie name from the founding in 1844 until it became the Sunday edition of the *Chicago Daily Tribune* in 1852. Before it was started, the *Prairie Farmer*, 1841-1905—an agricultural journal which, during its pioneer stage, was largely literary in leaning—had set the copy for titles derived from the fields and lands. *Sloan's Garden City*, 1853-54, a weekly, achieved considerable prominence because of a serial story, by William H. Bushnell, entitled "Prairie Fire." This "tale of early Illinois" attracted many subscribers, and was copyrighted in January, 1854, and reprinted in pamphlet form. Finally, for a few months in 1856, D. B. Cooke & Co., booksellers, published the *Prairie Leaf*.

The word "western" or the name "Chicago" appears in the titles of nearly all the early periodicals not named from the prairies. Only one in this period had a caption of distinctly national significance; and that one was most ephemeral. The first literary magazine, in standard magazine form, to be published in Chicago was the *Western Magazine*—October, 1845, to September, 1846—from which quotations appear in the headpiece to this paper. In later decades there were two magazines given the same name. Other early ones with typical titles were the *Garland of the West*, July, 1845; the *Lady's Western Magazine*, 1848; the *Youth's Western Banner*, 1853; and the *Western Garland*, published simultaneously at Chicago, Louisville, and St. Louis for a short

time in 1856. The *Chicago Ariel* was a short-lived sprite of 1846. The *Chicago Dollar Weekly*, a literary journal of merit, existed through a part of the year 1849. The *Chicago Record*, 1857-62, was the longest-lived periodical during the latter part of the pioneer season, and one of the most important containing the city's name in its title. Both the Chicago and western sentiments were among the features, which — if we may quote a salutatory — “the Iron-willed Press has forever stamped” upon a meritorious literary-historical magazine having five monthly issues in 1857. Its name, printed in large letters, was the *Chicago Magazine: The West as it Is*.

This western interest the editors and publishers consciously avowed. It was heralded with virility in many salutatories and editorial announcements. The *Literary Budget*, a journal of truly high standard, on changing from a monthly to a weekly, said, January 7, 1854:

The West should have a marked and original literature of its own. Writers of fiction have used up all the incidents of our glorious revolutionary period. The romantic scenery of the East, too, has been made to aid in the construction of some of the best romances ever written. We do not object to this. On the contrary, we rejoice — are thankful it is so. But a new field is open to authorship. We wish to present its advantages.

THE GREAT WEST, in her undulating prairies, deep-wooded highlands, mighty rivers, and remnants of aboriginal races, presents topics teeming with interest to every reader, and big with beautiful scenes for the artist's eye. The West is full of subject-matter for legend, story, or history. Sublime scenery to inspire the poet is not wanting. All that is lacking is a proper channel. This channel we offer. The *Budget* claims to be a western literary paper, and we invite writers to send us articles on western subjects, for publication.

Such unqualified western sectionalism had its roots in the economic and political situation, and the facts regarding the population of Chicago and its environing prairies. In the late forties and early fifties Chicago was the growing center of a more or less isolated western or northwestern empire. Despite the lake transportation, which began in 1835, as Blanchard says, in his *Discovery and Conquest of the Northwest, with a History of Chicago*, “up to the era of railroads, the Mississippi River was a more important channel of trade to the state of Illinois than the lakes.”

It was not until 1852 that lines of railroad giving connection with the eastern states entered Chicago. For four years before that time the engine "Pioneer," brought here on a brig, had been hauling trains on the Galena & Chicago Union Railway, which was the nucleus of the Northwestern system. Ever since 1837 the citizens had been active over a big internal improvement scheme for a railway system to cover the state as a unit; and by 1850 a charter had been granted the Illinois Central, assuring a Mississippi Valley system centered in Chicago.

The population when the first magazine was established, in 1845, numbered 12,083. It grew rapidly to 84,113 by 1856. In the early part of this period the people composing it were chiefly native-born, the adventurous sons of Yankees in the seaboard section. When the foreign immigration set in heavily, during the later forties, the newcomers did not produce any marked effect by giving a varied, cosmopolitan character, such as masses of men from other lands have since contributed.

These men from the states near the eastern seaboard had brought with them a tradition of American magazines which dated back to 1741, when Benjamin Franklin had established, on English models, the *General Magazine and Historical Chronicle*. But that recollection was of magazines that were, almost necessarily, of, by, and for a distinct section, many of them having had state names, such as the *Massachusetts Magazine*. And the magazines which came from the East for Chicago readers in the ante-Civil War days were emphatically of the East. But even these did not begin to come regularly to the West until 1850, after ten literary periodicals had already been attempted in Chicago. It should not be surprising that in their literary isolation these pioneers should have undertaken the creation of their own literature, and that their literary journals should have been as sectional in spirit as those they had known in their earlier homes.

This tone in Chicago periodicals was not changed, but really heightened, by the coming of the seaboard city magazines which were then so markedly eastern in character. Mr. George H. Fergus, an old gentleman who today, at an office in Lake Street, continues the business of his father, Robert Fergus, Chicago's

first printer and the printer of several of Chicago's first periodicals, talks vividly of the first arrival of *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*. That was in 1850, when *Harper's* was founded. Getting copies from W. W. Dannenhower, who two years later started publication of the *Literary Budget*, Mr. Fergus sold them at an eight-cent profit. By 1854 the *Literary Budget* contained notices of *Putnam's Magazine*, *Graham's Magazine*, and *Knickerbocker Magazine*, which latter, by its very name, showed its sectionalism. The *Atlantic Monthly*, with its emphasis on the Atlantic idea, was not begun until 1857, the same year that saw the advent of the *Chicago Magazine: The West as it Is*. In an article on "American Periodicals," October 1, 1892, the *Dial*, a recognized authority, says:

It is a little surprising that the eastern magazines should so long have exemplified the provincial spirit. Until about twenty years ago they rarely took cognizance of the existence of any country or population west of the Alleghanies.

In the founding of magazines and literary journals in early Chicago is perhaps to be seen an example of the principle "imitation," made so much of by the French sociologist, Tarde. And his "invention" and "adaptation" may be found in some of the developments and in the westernization of these periodicals. Western sectionalism was the counterpart, in magazinedom, of New England and Knickerbocker sectional spirit.

Nevertheless, more than one of these pro-western publishers expected an eastern circulation. "Devoted to western subjects—consequently more interesting to distant readers and equally so to western people"—this quiet assumption is quoted from No. 1, Vol. I, of *Sloan's Garden City*. It appeared in 1853. By 1857 Chicago and the West found themselves leaping forward in such a rapid pace of growth that self-confident boasting became a characteristic of the city and section. "We believe failure was never yet wedded to Chicago," declared the editor of the *Chicago Magazine: The West as it Is*, in his "Introductory," which appeared during March of that year. Then, concerning the breadth of the field for circulation, he went on to say:

We propose to fill these pages with such matter as will make this publication a Chicago-western magazine. We shall aim to make it a *vade mecum* between the East and the West—a go-between carrying to the men of the East a true picture of the West which will satisfy their desire for information on the great topics connected with this part of their common country. We therefore bespeak for our work a place in the eastern market, and some offset there to the competition we must meet with in the circulation of eastern periodicals in the western field. The West will learn to patronize this monthly for the love of its own ideas; the East will read it to get that knowledge of us which they cannot get from any other source.

In the April number the publisher said: "Buy extra copies to send east." In the August number, which was the last, there appeared an advertisement addressed to "Men of the West," urging them to purchase copies of the magazine, and thereby aid in establishing a literature of their own, and a monthly magazine, also of their own, "as good as *Harper's*, *Putnam's*, or *Godey's*."

An exclusively western support was all that the periodical publishers of the forties and earlier fifties had sought. The *Gem of the Prairie*, 1844–52, in its editorial columns from time to time asked for "such support as it might receive from the people of the northwestern states of the Union." In 1851, the last year before its identity was submerged in that of the *Tribune*, the editor announced that for six years the periodical had enjoyed such support. As a result, the *Gem of the Prairie* could then be regarded as "established on a permanent basis." The publisher of the *Western Magazine*, 1845–46, Chicago's initial venture in magazine form, rated the western demand for a western periodical of that type as large enough to furnish permanent support. Many subsequent projectors of western magazines have held to the same belief. The *Literary Budget*, 1852–55, expected western subscribers only, and called upon "the friends of western literature" to organize clubs for co-operation "in the maintenance of a good literary paper in this section of the country."

The number of copies in the *Literary Budget's* first issue on becoming a weekly, January 7, 1854, as recorded in an editorial announcement, was 3,000. This is the only figure on the circulation of ante-bellum periodicals that could be found. The first of the annual *Newspaper Directories*, which are the chief source

of the statistics compiled for these reports concerning the distribution of the magazines and periodicals of the later periods, did not appear until 1869. The figure given by the *Budget*, however, undoubtedly indicates the average number of copies printed for the prairie periodicals of western circulation.

A lack of businesslike estimates, and an abundance of over-optimistic speculations about the geographic extent of the market for them, have been constant causes of death for literary publishing projects in Chicago. In general, those publishers who have sought only, or mainly, a western market for their output have had a measure of success. Those who, like the editor of the *Chicago Magazine: The West as it Is*, expected readers in the eastern states eagerly to accept their literary product, have, until recently, been altogether disappointed. They have found that, while the people of the states east of Illinois wish to know of the West, they want a literary presentation of western life made from their own point of view. The outlook of the writers for the early periodicals of Chicago was too restricted.

A detailed story of each of these early efforts, however, would show that the central motive of the men making them was not commercial success. Seriously and earnestly they strove to create a literature. Some even were so devoted that it might truly be said they were the high-priests of a fetish, the idol being a Literature of the West. Of the twenty-seven literary periodicals started at Chicago in the decades before 1860, 44 per cent. may be classified as purely literary, while 33 per cent. were of the literary-miscellany type, and 11 per cent. of the literature-information variety. The proprietors were not publishers, not highly developed captains in the industry of manufacturing and marketing letters. They were, rather, or strove to be, editors.

William Rounseville, of Rounseville & Co., the founder of the first literary magazine published in Chicago, was such an editor. He literally unfurled the banner of western literature, in the Indian summer month of 1845. The cover of his magazine was illustrated with two large trees, an Indian and his tepee at the base of one, and a prairie schooner at the base of the other. A streamer was strung from tree to tree. This streamer bore the

words *Western Magazine*. The name of William Rounseville, as author, appears in the first number at the head of five articles, including the first instalment of a serial story entitled "A Pioneer of the Prairies."

The development of western literary talent was the chief task which this editor undertook. Since his day editors and publishers in Chicago have discovered and brought out many writers, though some have not laid so much emphasis on that part of their work. Mr. Rounseville's first editorial chat with his public was headed "Our Contributors." He cited the fact that several entire strangers to him had contributed, as evidence of the interest in literary efforts here. William H. Bushnell, a journeyman printer who was the most prolific of the pioneer writers, contributed a "Legend of the Upper Mississippi," entitled "Ke-O-Sau-Que," and a poem on "The Dead Indian." J. T. Trowbridge, another prairie poet, was the contributor of some verses on "The Prairie Land." The number contained a few woodcuts. The best of the illustrations was a picture of Starved Rock, accompanying a legend of that historic spot.

The style of many of the contributions to the *Western Magazine* was crude, though in some the literary form was excellent. Without doubt, Rounseville & Co. paid little or nothing for articles and stories. Mr. Rounseville sold out after issuing ten numbers, and the purchaser suspended publication after the twelfth number of the magazine. The founder's belief that "the western people were able and willing to support a magazine of their own" had not materialized in cash. Lack of attention to the commercial side of the enterprise was a prime cause for the brevity of its life.

The name of Benjamin F. Taylor, a brilliant literary man, is given in the histories of Chicago as chief editor of the *Lady's Western Magazine*. This periodical, which came out for a few months in 1848, was in imitation of several "ladies' magazines" published in New York and Philadelphia. Mr. Taylor was a genuine poet, a westerner of rare genius. From the forties until after the great Chicago fire, in 1871, he wrote verses which first appeared in the literary periodicals, and also the newspapers, of

Chicago. His work attracted the attention, not only of western readers, but also of the literary critics, who pronounced it to be poetry that had the quality of real literature. But Mr. Taylor had none of the executive ability required for the business of editing and publishing a periodical of any kind; hence the short life of the *Lady's Western Magazine*.

In contrast with the direction of the foregoing magazines, the strict attention to business in the management of the *Gem of the Prairie*, a paper devoted to literary miscellany and information, stands out most sharply. Founded before them, it lived after them. It endured as the *Gem of the Prairie* for nearly eight years, which was longer than any other early periodical of predominantly literary turn continued to exist. "To Please Be Ours" was the motto of the publishers through changing ownerships. The proprietors on January 1, 1848, John E. Wheeler and Thomas A. Stewart, said editorially:

We mean to, and we believe we do, give the people who buy our literary wares their money's worth, and therefore we do not pay them so poor a compliment as to call them patrons.

Nevertheless, they expressed themselves as "not satisfied with mere pecuniary compensation," and mentioned those "more subtleties connecting with the World of the Highest." This connection was striven for in departments called "The Muse," "The Story," "Miscellany," "Variety," and "Local Matters." Bushnell and Taylor were among the more able contributors. Many contributions came from those whose chief interest in life evidently was something other than letters. Not a few stories were selected from the magazines of the East and of England. The department called "Miscellany" was typical of the channels for literary flow provided by all kinds of newspapers and periodicals in the era of American journalism prior to that of specialization. It contained bits of prose and verse culled miscellaneously and thrown together in a kind of literary salad. This combining of appeals to the desire for æsthetic pleasure through the use of stories, poems, and literary miscellany, and to the desire for knowledge through general information and local news, was an evidence of business sagacity on the part of the publishers.

In order to meet a growing demand for news alone, in 1847 the proprietors established the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, as an offshoot to the *Gem of the Prairie*. They continued the *Gem of the Prairie* as a literary miscellany until 1852. By that time the offshoot had become bigger than the original trunk. The *Gem* was changed from a week-day weekly to a Sunday weekly, and its name became the *Chicago Sunday Tribune*. The idea of publishing a secular weekly to appear on Sunday had been gaining ground, though slowly, since the founding of the *Sunday Morning Atlas* at New York in 1838. Publishers must aim to catch readers during their hours of leisure. These Sunday weeklies, though largely literary, were one factor in the development of the Sunday dailies of today devoted primarily to news. The first exclusively Sunday paper to appear in Chicago came out in 1856. It was the *Sunday Vacuna*, named from the goddess of rural leisure. The first exclusively Sunday paper of any permanence, according to the historian Andreas, came out in the spring of 1857. It was the *Sunday Leader*, and had able men connected with it. Among them were Bushnell, and Andrew Shuman and Rev. A. C. Barry, who turned off a department called "Whittlings from the Chimney Corner." But neither of these exclusively Sunday papers lasted long. Without a doubt, the competition of the *Chicago Sunday Tribune* was too strong.

Up to the exciting days of the Civil War, however, there was a strong conviction on the part of substantial, church-going citizens that Sunday papers should not be read. But with their hearts burning for the success of the northern cause, and aching for loved sons at the front, the first demand of every man and woman, on Sunday as on a week day, was for news. This was supplied and the habit of reading news on Sunday was begun. It has grown since then, and today the first appeal of the Sunday edition of a daily paper is the appeal of news. Yet in the supplements of the *Chicago Sunday Tribune* today, containing stories, comic pictures, "Worker's Magazine" features, and miscellaneous reading, one can see the outgrowth of the old *Gem of the Prairie*. The development of those pages in the *Chicago Sunday Tribune* which broadly may be classed as literary in character is

typical of morning dailies in Chicago and elsewhere. This type of growth has reached its highest form of specialization, as we shall see later, in the "Sunday Magazine" of the *Chicago Record-Herald*, and newspapers of other cities associated in its publication. Incidentally, the points about the course of development in the *Gem of the Prairie* and the *Chicago Sunday Tribune* show, in outline, the history of the only periodical of a literary character established in prairie days which has continued in any form and retained such character to the present time. The *Prairie Farmer*, established in 1841, has altogether lost its literary flavor, although it has retained its name and identity, and has become a highly specialized paper of agricultural technique.

In January of the year when the *Gem of the Prairie* lost its original name, the *Literary Budget*, which grew into a journal of the same type, made its first appearance. The establishment of the *Literary Budget* gives the first example of a phenomenon which has frequently appeared in Chicago publishing. This may accurately be termed "engraftment." And "engraftment" may be defined as the dependence of one interest upon another previously established. W. W. Dannenhower, the "editor and proprietor" from the first flash to the snuffing out of this publication, was an old-fashioned bookseller. At his bookstore in Lake Street he gave counsel to his patrons and helped to set the literary fashions for the community. He established the *Literary Budget* as a medium in which to advertise books and periodicals. For seven numbers it appeared as a monthly. It then grew into a weekly literary journal of distinct merit, and as such was even more effective as an aid in selling books. And by the increase of book business the periodical was helped.

The character of the journal as a literary miscellany is shown by the frequent appearance of *noms de plume*—"Paulina," "Katy Darling," and "Daisy Poet." It is said by the early historians that the first music ever printed from movable type appeared in this paper. Each issue contained a page or two of printed music. To accompany some of this, Benjamin F. Taylor, who was a corresponding editor, wrote verses. T. Herbert Whipple, another of these editors, wrote for the *Literary Budget*

an original "nouvellette" entitled "Ethzelda; or, Sunbeams and Shadows: A Tale of the Prairie Land as it Was," which was afterward published in covers by Rufus Blanchard. On every page the *Literary Budget* tried to give that "marked and original literature of its own" which Mr. Dannenhower had "dipped his nib in ink" to declare the West should have.

After two years and a half of editing, Mr. Dannenhower deserted literature for politics. In the summer of 1855 he became state leader of the "Native American" or "Know-Nothing" party, which had during the year preceding carried two eastern commonwealths, and had shown strength in the middle states. He announced that the *Budget* would "close its existence," that he would "launch his bark" once more, and that his numerous readers would receive the *Weekly Native Citizen*. As a spokesman of the reaction against the immigration due to the Irish famine and the continental revolutions of 1848 and 1849, he wrote vehemently. With the *Budget's* last breath, he said:

We trust that our future exertions will be such as to exemplify to the world that the pure fire of American sentiment is sweeping over our vast prairies; that hereafter America shall and must be governed by Americans.

There was not a sigh for the literature of the West. We shall see how minutely history repeated itself—in the periodical *America* four decades later.

Sloan's Garden City, another literary miscellany, was started as a graft, in the original sense of that word. Walter B. Sloan, the publisher, was a vender of patent medicines—"Sloan's Remedies"—and had advertised in the *Gem of the Prairie*. In the first few numbers of his own periodical he printed a "Sloan's Column," which told the great merits of "Sloan's Family Ointment," "Sloan's Instant Relief," "Sloan's Horse Ointment," and "Sloan's Life Syrup." Later Oscar B. Sloan, a son, became editor. The patent-medicine notices disappeared. The periodical became a pro-western literary organ of genuine merit, having, however, a trend toward the family-story type of literary appeal. In 1854 it was merged with the *People's Paper* of Boston, which lived until 1870. But throughout its last years it contained only a few advertising notices, the subscription price of \$2 a year afford-

ing sufficient revenue. The history of this periodical has interest, however, chiefly on account of its origin in advertising.

The *Chicago Magazine: The West as it Is*, the literary-historical magazine of highest tone, expressed the pioneer sentiment on advertising. In the second number, April, 1857, it said:

We respond to the wish of a contemporary, that we might be able to dispense with this avenue of public patronage. But at present the law of necessity must overrule the law of taste.

As in the other early periodicals, the only advertisements in this magazine were those of local firms, including a "Business Directory," and those of the railroads. The well-deserved price of this magazine was 25 cents a copy. And the circulation was "all that the publishers asked."

The publishers looked for another source of revenue in their illustrations. The magazine was profusely and beautifully illustrated. The cuts, portraits, and pictures of buildings and towns were made from daguerreotypes. In presenting their "true picture of the West," the proprietors considered it their first duty "to daguerreotype" the towns and the leading citizens. This was done at great expense. But in their second number the publishers complained that no pecuniary aid had been received from that class of citizens whom they had undertaken to daguerreotype—the long-resident, wealthy and prominent men. They also expressed disappointment because the towns written up were slow to respond. It was almost a sacrifice of the dignity of this fine magazine thus to expect revenue from articles bordering close upon that species known among publishers as "write-ups." Write-up schemes, some of them really hold-up schemes, have caused the disrepute, decline, and death of not a few publishing ventures in Chicago, as elsewhere. The proprietors of the *Chicago Magazine: The West as it Is*, however, did not solicit payments for its excellent biographical and historical sketches in advance. They merely voiced disappointment that the publication of such articles had not met with recognition in the form of the cash the magazine so much needed.

This magazine was founded by and published for the Mechanics' Institute. It was engrafted on a culture agency. The

Mechanics' Institute was an organization for night study, which brought lyceum lecturers to the city and established a library. One object in founding the magazine was to secure exchanges for this library gratis. The serious money panic of 1857 in Chicago embarrassed the institute, and further hurt the magazine's circulation. In John Gager & Co., publishers of maps, the magazine had able business managers. Zebina Eastman, the editor, was a distinguished lawyer as well as writer. But he was a prominent abolitionist; and his interest in political affairs may have taken some energy from his literary efforts.

An outside passage on "the world's literary omnibus" was all they asked in March. In April they announced that the magazine had conquered for itself a place in the literary omnibus. The May and June numbers were late in coming out. The July number was omitted. The August number was the fifth and last. Andreas, the historian of Chicago, says the failure was a great loss to the literary interests of the city.

The last of the prairie-day periodicals were brought out under the editorship of James Grant Wilson, then a young pioneer making his literary début at Chicago; now, in 1905, with more than three-score years and ten to his credit, a conspicuous figure in the Authors' Club, Century Association, and other circles of literary men at New York. He was the editor of two literary periodicals which closed the pioneer period. With a literary bent inherited from his father, a poet-publisher, and an educational equipment secured at College Hill, Poughkeepsie, Mr. Wilson took Horace Greeley's advice to young men, and came west in 1857. Andreas in his *History of Chicago*, 1884, says, on p. 411 of Vol. I: "In March, 1857, James Grant Wilson, editor (Carney and Wilson, publishers), began the publication of a monthly magazine designated the *Chicago Examiner*, devoted to literature, general and church matters." In a letter written October 9, 1905, Mr. Wilson informs us that this is an error, saying: "The title *Chicago Examiner* is new to me, and I think no paper or periodical could have appeared at that period without my knowledge."

In April, 1857, however, Mr. Wilson, as sole editor and proprietor, founded a rather enduring journal, the *Chicago Record*.

In an introductory editorial salutation he called attention to the springtime advent of the birds, and asked for this journal a welcome like that given to the April songsters. With artistic Old English lettering in its title, the *Chicago Record* was consecrated to literature and the arts, and, although conducted by a layman, was also "devoted to the church." It was an example of engrafting, the literary interest being made dependent on the interests of the Chicago diocese of the Protestant Episcopal church. It may perhaps be significant that, along with the advertising notices of books and reading which it contained, there were advertisements of stained-glass windows. The contents of the *Record's* neatly printed pages were, however, distinctly literary in character, and of excellent quality, having a polish which the news of the Episcopal church only helped to emphasize, as one can readily see on looking at the file which the founder presented to the Chicago Historical Society. The articles were written in pleasing essay style. The editor himself contributed "Wanderings in Europe," narrative accounts of experiences in the summer of 1855. Another series of papers told of "Painters and Their Works" in a manner that was interesting, although the journal had no illustrations. Poetry and "miscellanea" were interspersed. Among the poems "Written for the *Record*" were several by Benjamin F. Taylor; and of those evidently reprinted were many from the pen of William Cullen Bryant. All of the literary periodicals of the pioneer period, excepting the *Chicago Magazine: The West as it Is*, which was undertaken contemporaneously with Mr. Wilson's first effort in March, 1857, had already died, or else lost their character and identity, by the time of his arrival. Therefore, General Wilson is under the impression that the *Chicago Record* "was the first literary periodical to appear in Chicago."

While still bringing out the *Chicago Record*, Mr. Wilson became the editor of the very best magazine among those which have left merely first-number mementoes in the library of the Chicago Historical Society. This was the *Northwestern Quarterly Magazine*, a volume of 104 pages in thick paper cover, which was published by Rufus Blanchard, the cartographer and historian whose death occurred in 1904. It was a heavy maga-

zine of the *North American Review* type, the most ambitious of the kind ever attempted in Chicago, and quite pretentious for so early a date as October, 1858. Mr. Blanchard, in a conservative announcement on the last page, said :

On the issue of the pioneer number of this magazine the publisher would beg leave to state that he is as well aware that no high pretensions can sustain a feeble attempt, as that a worthy effort would be successful without them. The *Northwestern Quarterly* is now before the tribunal of public opinion to stand or fall as its merits shall determine.

In the course of telling what would be the aims of the magazine, he said "the broad fields of literature" were to be traversed, and "the progress of fine arts to be traced."

The contributions which had been selected by his editor were printed without authors' signatures attached, but were of high character both as to critical insight and literary style. Typical articles in the number bore the following titles: "The Northwest," "Padilla," "A Trick of Fortune," "The Home of Robert Burns," "The Broken Pitcher," "About Painters and Their Works," "Puns and Punsters," and "The Atlantic Telegraph." The "Literary Notices" contained a review of *Titcomb's Letters to Young People*. Three local book stores, including "the largest book-house in the Northwest," were represented by full-page advertisements of a character in keeping with the literary merit of the periodical, for which the booksellers thus signified their approval. General Wilson cherishes many recollections of the *Northwestern Quarterly*. Being president of the Biographical Society in New York, and the author of various works on memorabilia, historical recollections are his great delight. Among reminiscences concerning the *Northwestern Quarterly Magazine*, the most pleasing, told in his own words, is as follows :

Both Washington Irving and James K. Paulding, and also William Cullen Bryant, in letters to the editor, commended it, Paulding saying it was "the best first number of any magazine ever published in this country."

But although Mr. Wilson had the material for a second number in proof, it never was published. And this was not because either the "high pretensions" mentioned by the publisher or contributions of genuine merit were lacking. Mr. Blanchard was over-

taken by financial troubles in his chief business of map-publishing; so the magazine was brought to a sudden end, and sent to the oblivion of ephemeral publications.

Mr. Wilson, however, continued the editing and publishing of the *Chicago Record* each month. This journal lived, under his fostering care, for five full years, until March, 1862, when it was purchased by a clergyman, through whose literary ministrations it lasted only a brief period longer. In "A Word at Parting" Mr. Wilson said of the *Chicago Record*:

It was the pioneer paper of its character in the Northwest, and various were the expressions in regard to its success:

"Some said, Print it, others said, Not so;

Some said, It might do good; others said, No."

It has been a success—we humbly trust it has done some good. Other demands upon our time compel us to relinquish, most reluctantly, a post that we have endeavored to fill to the best of our ability.

The other demands, mentioned but not described in this editorial valedictory, were those felt by all men at the time in response to the nation's call for volunteers. Mr. Wilson quite literally left the pen for the sword. He entered the Union army as a major in the Fifteenth Illinois Cavalry, served in the Vicksburg campaign, and resigned as a brigadier-general in 1865. While in the war, General Wilson absorbed the material for his printed addresses on Lincoln and Grant, and was led on into the literary work which he has since done continuously in New York, his last book, *Thackeray in the United States*, having come out in 1903. But it was the war which ended his training-school days in letters at periodical editing and publishing in pioneer Chicago.

The war put a temporary stop to the founding of literary periodicals. As we have already seen, at least one publication of literary interest was begun in each year after 1841 until 1858. And since the war, new ones have sprung up every year. But between 1858 and the end of the war in 1865, only one periodical of literary character was attempted in Chicago. Even that one was first announced in a prospectus issued at Washington, D. C., and it proved to be a direct engraftment on the national interest in the war. This unique bit of war-time literary effort bore as its

name the words *National Banner*. No. 1 of Vol. I, having a Chicago imprint, appeared in May, 1862; the last number issued at Chicago came out in December of that year; and then the headquarters were again located in its place of origin at the national capital.

The *National Banner* was a sixteen-page journal "devoted to art, literature, music, general intelligence, and the country." The objects of the venture, as framed more fully by Miss Delphine P. Baker, the proprietor, and proclaimed through a standing announcement, were in part, as follows:

First, to create a patriotic fund for the relief of disabled soldiers and their families; second, to diffuse a high-toned moral literature throughout the land; and, third, to bind with the golden chain of love all hearts together in one grand, glorious national cause.

The *National Banner* held out a novel inducement to prospective subscribers in the form of a promise that a good part of their payments would be turned over directly to "the patriotic fund." Still, the dominant interest aroused by the contents of the periodical was of a literary nature. A leading feature from month to month was a continued story entitled "Olula: A Romance of the West." Among the contributors mentioned, in announcements frequently made, were George D. Prentice, Benjamin F. Taylor, James Grant Wilson, Horace Greeley, James W. Sheahan, and William Mathews. Although sounding the new national note, the periodical paraded its contributions from "the most eminent northwestern clergymen," and paid special attention to literary efforts designed for the western section of the country.

II. PERIODICAL LITERATURE FOLLOWING THE WAR

"Born of the prairie and the wave—the blue sea and the green—
A city of the Occident, Chicago lay between.

"I hear the tramp of multitudes who said the map was wrong—
They drew the net of longitude and brought it right along,
And swung a great meridian line across the Foundling's breast,
And the city of the Occident was neither East nor West."

—Benj. F. Taylor, in the *Lakeside Monthly*, October, 1873.

The effect of the Civil War in lessening sectional antagonism throughout the North, especially the sectionalism of West versus

East, was reflected in the literary periodicals of Chicago. This impulse toward the national standpoint showed itself in the magazines and journals undertaken in the period between 1865 and the great fire of 1871. There was also the influence of an intensified local spirit. Chicago was growing like an adolescent giant. The population had increased from a little more than 100,000 in 1860 to over 200,000 in 1866, and by 1870 it was more than 300,000. This growth was matched by a buoyant movement in commerce and industry. A flood of energy which had been diverted to the war was directed anew to these channels. The name "Chicago" appeared on thirteen periodicals of literary appeal in the late sixties and early seventies. The *Chicagoan*, a literary weekly coming out on Saturdays in the years 1868 and 1869, was one of the best of these. But in tracing development, the beginning of a tendency toward nationalization is more important. It is to be found in the magazines that were published east as well as west.

The establishment of agencies for distributing periodicals and newspapers aided in widening their scope. Mr. John R. Walsh founded the Western News Co. in 1866. This machine for Middle West distribution of periodic publications was built upon the growing web of railway lines centered in Chicago. The Western News Co. became an organic part of the American News Co., which had been established in New York ten years earlier. Like every branch agency at a subcenter, the Western News Co. proved a great aid to the magazines of New York in securing national circulation. Mr. Walsh held then, as he does today, in 1905, that there can be only one literary center in a country. He cites the shifting of literary production from Edinburgh to London, in Great Britain's experience, as evidence. At any rate, but few promoters of western publishing ventures have had capital enough to send out through the news company, for display at the newsstands, many copies which might be returned unsold. The news company holds back the collections on three issues of a new periodical as a guarantee that the publishers will fulfil their agreement to take back copies not sold. Nevertheless, Chicago publishers, except those of the present decade, have complained that

the Western News Co. has not been an aid in establishing western literary periodicals.

Within the five years following the close of the Civil War, a periodical was started in Chicago which stands today as the most notable in the city's literary history. This was a monthly magazine which, crudely begun as the *Western Monthly*, became the classic *Lakeside Monthly*. Of all the periodicals undertaken in Chicago, the *Lakeside Monthly* remains the one most distinctive in unalloyed literary appeal, the one most chaste and finished in form. Its history is rich in significance.

In its first number the *Western Monthly* announced that it was "intended to be purely an institution of the West." The western tocsin was again sounded lustily as in the *Western Magazine* of prairie days. The worth of the magazines of the East during the preceding decades in affording an outlet for eastern writers, and thereby placing American literature side by side with the best of the Old World, was loudly praised; but, said the announcement,

the West, with her vast resources, her intellectual men and growing genius, is not represented by any magazine whose mission is to explore the fields of literature and gather the ripe fruits of her pioneer talent.

It was declared that western writers looked with an "unbecoming awe" upon those of the East, and "feared to compete with them in the literary arena as then established." The fault was laid at the door of the West for not publishing a magazine of its own. Hence the advent of the *Western Monthly* and the concluding words:

We believe the proverbial go-aheaditiveness of the western people will be demonstrated in literary as well as commercial matters, now that the opportunity is presented.

All this appeared in the number of January, 1869.

Not long before that time, Mr. Francis Fisher Browne, truly a pioneer of American culture then and today, arrived in Chicago, coming from Buffalo and the East, by steamer on the lakes. Mr. Browne had served in the Civil War with a Massachusetts regiment; and, having seen many men from many sections marching to the nation's common battlefields, he had come out of the war

with an enlarged experience and a broadened point of view. As a boy, he had learned the printer's trade in his father's newspaper office, thus acquiring knowledge of the aid that typographic art can give to literary form. Like many literary men, he had also studied law — first in an office at Rochester, New York, and then at the University of Michigan. Ever since his boyhood days in the newspaper office and in a New England high school, he had, however, been keenly interested in letters. After locating in Chicago, his tastes again turned to them. His alert eye saw possibilities in the *Western Monthly*; and, after three or four numbers had been published, he purchased an interest in the magazine and joined the projector of it, Mr. H. V. Reed, in its management. After a time Mr. Reed withdrew from the enterprise, and Mr. Browne became its sole director.

The beginning of Mr. Browne's work in the management of the magazine was marked by immediate improvement in its style and character. The typographical dress of the periodical was changed, and its appearance became at once more dignified and elegant. Biographical features were dropped out, and its appeal became purely literary. The interest in form and subject-matter was not then, or afterward, given auxiliary strength by the use of illustrations. But the typography became so nearly perfect that the *Inland Printer* has declared it to have been the best in any Chicago periodical excepting only that influential journal of literary criticism, the *Dial*, which Mr. Browne himself established later.

The change in the name of the periodical was probably the most typical single act of a Chicago publisher during the post-bellum period. The adjective "western" in a magazine title bespoke something provincial, something narrow and restricted in aim and scope. Other publishers evidently felt this. Besides the *Western Monthly*, only three Chicago literary periodicals started in these years contained the word "West" in their names; and they were journals of a low literary order. A broader and more inclusive title was needed to make the magazine expressive of the spirit of the times. A study of its files and of the history of the period suggested the idea that the editor had doubtless gone

through an interesting personal experience in creating the new name thus called for by the social movements following the Civil War.

A call upon Mr. Browne in the *Dial* office at the Fine Arts Building was rewarded with a vivid narration of this important incident. Looking out over the green space bordering Michigan Boulevard to the great blue lake in the distance, Mr Browne consented to give his recollections of the transforming of the *Western Monthly* into the *Lakeside Monthly*. Soon after his advent into the magazine, he felt the narrowness of the word "western," and began feeling for a name which, while it might retain the flavor of locality, would first of all connote a wide interest in the æsthetic. The title of the *Atlantic Monthly* had some such connotation. Mr. Browne devised a long list of possibilities, compounding words to suggest beauty and fertility—the lake and the land. And one day, in 1870, he struck off the word "Lakeside"—a name which, perhaps because it so clearly mirrors the most beautiful physical feature of the Chicago environment, has become a popular favorite for many ambitious enterprises. For its first use Mr. Browne chose it as the looked-for title, and the magazine became the *Lakeside Monthly*.

Under its new name the magazine made rapid advances in influence and reputation, so that it became the nucleus of a large publishing and printing house organized in 1870 for the avowed purpose of making Chicago as important a center for the manufacture of books and periodicals as it had already become for their marketing and distribution. The magazine gave its name to the new house, the Lakeside Publishing and Printing Co., for which it became the literary organ. In November, 1870, it announced editorially that the *Lakeside Monthly* would hold such a relation to this company "as does *Harper's Magazine* to the great publishing house of Harper Bros. of New York." The new publishing company was a successor to the magazine company and the printing firm of Church, Goodman & Donnelly. It started with a capital stock of \$500,000, and had, besides the magazine and other literary interests, a large and well-equipped printing-plant. It also erected the Lakeside Building, which,

rebuilt, still stands at the corner of Clark and Adams Streets, materially reminiscent of the high enterprise. The great fire of 1871 destroyed the new building and seriously crippled the business, so that book and magazine publishing in Chicago did not then assume the proportions reasonably promised at the outset of the new organization. A division of interests was made, and from that time on the sole responsibility of the magazine rested with Mr. Browne.

The character and quality of the *Lakeside* became notable, and its distinctive literary tone became pronounced, editor and contributors seriously striving to maintain the point of view of the creative artist. An endeavor was made to present the contents in such form as to interest American readers not only residing in the Middle West, but in all parts of the country, and also the English-reading lovers of beauty residing in the Old World as well. This outlook was from a height which no previous periodical in Chicago had attained. The appeal to the æsthetic interest was supplemented with an appeal to the interest in knowledge, through the publication of many profound articles of solid information. A scholarly tone resulted. The men connected with the popular and sensational magazines today, on reading the files of the *Lakeside*, are inclined to ridicule this characteristic. They call it didactic. Such didactics, however, served to emphasize the fact that the purely literary contributions to the magazine were measured critically by a standard derived from classic literature.

The retention of a decidedly western character was another marked feature of the *Lakeside*. Mr. Browne tried always to get material that was indigenous, racy of the soil, expressive of the fertility and virility of the Mississippi Valley. The fiction, poetry, and essays in the files of the *Lakeside* show success in expression of the life of the Midland West. In the Far West the picturesque freshness of the mountains inspired a like use of local color in Bret Harte's *Overland Monthly*, which was contemporary with the *Lakeside Monthly*, as it in the Middle West was with the *Atlantic Monthly* in New England. Most of the men and women who wrote for the *Lakeside* lived in Chicago and the Middle

West, although some were from the South and a few from the East. Many of them were brought out by the *Lakeside*, and much in their first manuscripts was rewritten in Mr. Browne's office. An article on "Literary Chicago" in the *New England Magazine* of February, 1893, states the result, by saying that The *Lakeside Monthly* early took high rank among the first-class literary magazines of the country, and elicited the warmest praise, not only from American organs of critical opinion, but from such foreign authorities as the *Saturday Review* and *la Revue des Deux Mondes*.

The circulation, according to the newspaper annuals, reached 9,000 in 1871, 10,000 the next year, and in 1873, 14,000, its maximum. While the bulk of this was in Chicago's supporting market, west and northwest, a part was east of the Alleghanies.

The pages of the *Lakeside*, with their portrayal of mid-western character, proved to be one source of satisfaction for a widespread desire to read the literature of locality—a desire which was one effect of the war and the growth of the nation. Before that time, publishers in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia had generally disregarded western subjects and western authors. The few remaining literary workers who were active then say it is impossible for the present generation to appreciate the indifference which eastern publishers then felt for the West. With the advent of the *Lakeside*, *Scribner's Monthly*, the forerunner of the present *Century*, began to give attention to western subjects, and to seek the work of western writers. During the years of the *Lakeside's* growth other eastern publishers began to glean in Mid-West fields, and the competition among them for the virile western productions, which has since become so keen, was fairly on by the time the magazine had reached the zenith of its career.

Such an influential position came only from years of patient perseverance and indomitable energy. Unlike the publishers of 148 literary ventures of various orders in Chicago lasting only a year or less, Mr. Browne went into this undertaking prepared to stay. Although loving literature for its own sake, he knows well its commercial side; that even the highest grade of literary output, like grosser wares, must be marketed as merchandise. Mr. Browne was prepared to carry on his chosen enterprise with the

highest literary ideals, but with practical business methods for reaching the market made by those who appreciate the higher literature. The recognition of merit was sought, and it was the recognition of such an effort of merit, as that which critics say today puts the *Atlantic Monthly* in a class by itself. Mr. Browne evidently felt that this policy, if followed out with patient devotion, was bound to win in time; and it did win for the *Lakeside*, in spite of business changes and ordeals by fire during years of work and waiting. In October, 1870, the *Lakeside Monthly* had a foretaste of fire, from flames which, though confined to its office, burned up an entire issue just off the press, and inflicted other serious damage. Then, in October, 1871, the great Chicago conflagration nearly obliterated the magazine, not only weakening the new publishing house which had grown out of it, but reducing the office furniture and subscription list to ashes. But the spirit of the *Lakeside* survived. Mr. Browne passed through all this undaunted. The magazine, omitting only the November and December issues, went on its way. Not, however, until its fifth year, in 1873, did it reach a self-supporting basis. The revenues were chiefly from sales and subscriptions at 35 cents per copy and \$4 a year. The advertising patronage was small, in comparison with that of the popular magazines of today. It came mainly from local merchants, since the general advertising agencies had merely been started in a small way by that time.

Nearly all of this advertising support and 40 per cent. of the circulation fell off in the fretful times following the "Black Friday" of the Jay Cooke panic toward the end of 1873. The struggle had been hard, the strain long and severe, and when, on account of these general financial conditions, additional resources of capital and energy were called for, Mr. Browne broke down, and, in the spring of 1874, was ordered away by his physician. As sole proprietor and editor, Mr. Browne had not specialized the establishment sufficiently. There was no one at hand trained to take his place either in business management or in editorial direction. At this time the publishers of *Scribner's Monthly* made a proposal for consolidation, which was a unique recognition of Chicago publishing on the part of New York publishers. But

this was declined, Mr. Browne deciding that, if the magazine must die, it should go down as it had lived—the *Lakeside Monthly*. In February, 1874, it suspended publication—a measure of necessity which at the time was thought to be only temporary. But it proved otherwise; and thus was closed the career of an enterprise in periodical literature which, in many respects, was the most important in the history of the literary interests of Chicago.

A publication of magazine form, generally called the *Chicago Magazine*, came out in the period of prosperity following the war. Its complete name, however, was the *Chicago Magazine of Fashion, Music, and Home Reading*. It was created by a coterie of fashionable ladies. Mrs. M. L. Rayne, who today contributes "Fun and Philosophy" to the editorial page of the *Chicago Record-Herald*, was the editor and leading spirit in the company. This magazine was the first of several Chicago periodicals designed to couple an interest in æsthetic writing with the æsthetic interest in dress. Possibly the fashions then did not call for tailor-made gowns. At any rate, the literary style of the poems, short stories, and serials, the printed trimming for the substantial material on *modes*, was characterized by something of looseness. The magazine secured a circulation of 3,000, chiefly local. It first appeared in 1870; numbers in the file of the Historical Society run to 1872; and the name appears in newspaper annuals until 1876.

One of the military titles used by boys at play in the Civil War time was stereotyped on the cover of a remarkable journal of juvenile literature, the *Little Corporal*. This little periodical was begun in Chicago the second month after fighting men came, from Appomattox, to their homes and children. The *Little Corporal's* slogan, shown in the files for 1865 and 1866 at the Historical Society's library, sounded forth as follows: "Fighting against Wrong, and for the Good and the True and the Beautiful."

The authors of the periodical resided in Evanston, the suburban center of culture. Alfred L. Sewell, of the *Evanston Index*, was the publisher; Mrs. Emily Huntington Miller was the

editor; Miss Frances Willard was a contributor. The *Little Corporal* was not, however, a temperance or religious organ. Nor did it uphold any sectionalism as the only papers for children attempted in the prairie period had done. There had been two of these, one in each decade of that period. The first, a weekly attempted by Kiler K. Jones, who later founded the *Gem of the Prairie*, antedated all but two of the quasi-literary periodicals for adults started in Chicago's young days, being begun in May, 1843. A tattered copy of its last number, dated July 26, 1843, which is one of the Historical Society's curios, contains, besides the pioneer projector's farewell words to the effect that he had done his best at "editor, compositor, pressman, and devil's duty," the original prospectus. Its significant line is this: "The *Youth's Gazette*: devoted expressly to the interests of the youth of the West." The other early paper for children, begun at Chicago in 1853, and lasting only a short time, was christened the *Youth's Western Banner*. But in 1865 no western modifier was given to the name of the *Little Corporal*. In the nationalizing which marked the social process in the United States at the time, it was even easier to find common ground for the children than for older people, especially when the ground taken was the universal interest in story. The paper, a monthly in journal form, was filled with secular, juvenile literature, of the best quality.

The *Little Corporal* became permanent by accident. It was originally published for the United States Sanitary Commission in connection with a fair. But it proved to be so popular and successful that it was continued, enduring for an entire decade. It quickly attained a national circulation, being the first periodical from Chicago to secure wide attention, and the first juvenile in the country to be read by children everywhere. It was the forerunner of *St. Nicholas*, which magazine was established at New York during the *Little Corporal's* sixth year. From it the *Youth's Companion*, though established long before, in Boston, made adaptations which have promoted the popularity of that paper.

The enormous circulation of the *Little Corporal* is historic in the records of Chicago publishing. The first *American Newspaper Directory*, issued in 1869, by George P. Rowell & Co., New

York, rated it at 80,000. But in the recollections of Mr. Francis F. Browne, Mr. John McGovern, and others who were among its readers, the *Little Corporal* is credited with having reached a circulation of 100,000 in its first or second year.

This large circulation was unhappily the cause of its decline and cessation. The price of subscription for twelve monthly numbers was \$1, one of the first instances of low prices in publishing. But the thousands and thousands of subscribers added to Mr. Sewell's lists did not bring proportionate additions of thousands of dollars from advertisements. In periodical publishing the unit on which advertising rates are based is each 1,000 copies per issue. And for each of the added units of circulation the publisher must get additional revenue from his advertising pages, especially if he is publishing at popular prices. Mr. Sewell, with his long list of subscribers in hand, found himself ahead of the times. Advertising had not yet become extensive and the first source of success in business. The local firms which gave him advertising notices would pay only small sums; for they cared to reach but a part of his readers. With a small circulation these sums would bring a profit; but, after a certain point was reached, every copy demanded was printed at a loss. *Everybody's Magazine*, of New York, was threatened during the past year, on account of the increase in circulation caused by the Lawson articles on "Frenzied Finance," with a similar predicament, but could immediately raise the selling price per copy, and at the expiration of advertising contracts secure their renewal at a higher rate. Many a Chicago publisher since Mr. Sewell's day has sighed for such a circulation.

A squad of juvenile publications, in imitation of the *Little Corporal*, sprang into existence. Fifteen such were started between 1865 and 1871. Eight of these were not revived after the fire, and all except the *Little Corporal* and two others were very short-lived. *Little Folks*, begun in 1869, lasted until 1877. This was advertised as a monthly of "illustrated juvenile literature," but was sold for 30 cents a year. The *Young Folks' Monthly*, undertaken in 1870, continued until 1883. An advertisement in a newspaper annual for 1880 said it was "a live,

sparkling, illustrated magazine for boys and girls, and older people with young hearts, containing thirty-two pages of illustrations and reading matter best calculated to amuse and instruct the young." This advertisement, with its tone of commonness, has a meaning for this essay. It helps to show the range of interest people have in literary productions, from the classic to the common. In these juveniles we readily see one tendency toward the development of the "family-story" periodical — a type which not long after this period became well known to the printing trade.

Another part of this "family-story" line of specialization appeared in the periodicals for adults. Back in the prairie period some of the pioneer publishers of general literary-miscellany periodicals had called attention to the "family reading" in their columns, and had emphasized the special interest it had for families in homes on the farms. But in 1868 home papers with home titles made their first appearance. The *Home Eclectic* came out, and continued monthly until 1870, acquiring only a small constituency. The *Chicago Western Home* also was started, secured 20,000 subscribers by 1870, and disappeared in the disaster of 1871. In 1869, A. N. Kellogg, the inventor of "patent insides," the printed sheets sent to country newspapers for completion with local items, founded the *Evening Lamp*. This is a large co-operative newspaper, printed from the best plate-matter of the A. N. Kellogg Newspaper Co. It is filled with serials, stories, sketches, and miscellaneous matter of interest and of fair quality. It is sent out weekly to this day. Three other family fireside papers were started in time to be burned out by the fire.

Chicago's famous holocaust destroyed the files of some magazines and journals from the earlier period, and a majority of those originated after the war. Many periodicals lived only long enough for their names to be put into the newspaper directories published in New York and Philadelphia. This is true concerning not a few of the 306 in the bibliography of literary publications attempted in Chicago up to 1905, compiled during the course of investigation for these papers. The newspaper annuals are the one source of information about them. And at least one such directory for every year since the first was brought out, has been

consulted. These records are not altogether satisfactory on the point of duration. The founding dates which they contain are sometimes inaccurate. They do not give the dates of suspension. And often the name of a periodical and data concerning it have been repeated in the annuals for one or two years after its publication has ceased. But when no corrections from files or interested persons were obtainable, the first and last years of a publication's appearance in the directory lists have been taken for the statistics herein given. Andreas commented that for his *History of Chicago* (1884) it was occasionally impracticable to decide whether some of the publications announced "had assumed form or remained inchoate in the projectors" because the records in newspaper directories were inaccurate. He said it was impossible to get specific dates, the fire having destroyed printed evidence, and memories proving unreliable. Paul Selby, in preparing a section on "Defunct Newspapers and periodicals" for Moses and Kirkland's *History of Chicago* (1895), drew heavily on Andreas for the early period, and then devoted only a column and a half to the periodicals after 1857, saying: "The records of subsequent years are even more imperfect than the preceding." In no history of Chicago has the ground been covered. The *Inter-Ocean's History of Chicago, Its Men and Institutions* (1900), dismisses the subject with a brief paragraph stating that Chicago has made a number of attempts at high-grade literary magazines, but that "none has met with noteworthy success, probably owing to the fact that literature is not of a local character." A list of 107 newspapers and periodicals destroyed in the fire was compiled in 1872 by James W. Sheahan and George P. Upton, who complained that they had to depend solely on memory in getting it ready for their volume, *The Great Conflagration: Chicago, Its Past, Present, and Future*.

[To be continued]